DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 025 471 SP 002 037

By- Klein, William; And Others
New Careers: A Manual of Organization and Development.
University Research Corp., Washington, D.C. Information Clearinghouse.
Spons Agency- Manpower Administration (DOL), Washington, D.C. Bureau of Work-Training Programs.
Pub Date Sep 68
Note- 19p.
Available from- New Careers Inst., Univ. Res. Corporation, 1424 16th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.
EDRS Price MF-$0.25 HC-$1.05
Descriptors- Group Counseling, Guidelines, *Human Services, *Job Training, *Manpower Development, Manuals, *Nonprofessional Personnel, Off the Job Training, On the Job Training, Organization, Program Evaluation, Qualifications, Recruitment, Research, Selection, *Small Group Instruction, Social Services, Vocational Adjustment, Work Attitudes, Work Experience Programs
Identifiers- Core Group, *New Careers Program

Based upon material drawn from experimental programs at Howard University Institute for Youth Studies (1964-67), this manual is intended for those wishing to train workers as nonprofessionals in the human services (health, education, mental health, recreation, child care, research, and community organization) and is designed to be used with SP 002 033, SP 002 034, SP 002 035, and other related curriculum manuals on specific occupational and skill areas. While the manual is predicated upon core-group training, i.e., all trainees receive a base of common generic training, the authors nonetheless recommend the manual, on the basis of its generic approach, for training programs not using the core-group model. Five major topics are covered: (1) the nonprofessional worker in human services; (2) job development; (3) qualifications, recruitment, and selection (trainee qualifications and the recruitment and selection processes); (4) training (training methods, training content, relationships with employing agencies, duration and completion of training, training guidelines, and training problems); and (5) research and program evaluation (the purposes and nature of evaluation, the duration of evaluative studies, and the research staff). Included is a 17-item bibliography. (SG)

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NEW CAREERS: A MANUAL OF ORGANIZATION AND DEVELOPMENT

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Reproduced and distributed by:
Information Clearinghouse on New Careers
New Careers Institute
University Research Corporation
1424 Sixteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036
(202) 483-2800

ED025471

Second Printing
September 1968

Reproduction and distribution of this manual was provided through contract with the U.S. Department of Labor, Manpower Administration, Bureau of Work-Training Programs.

SP002037

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The initial preparation of this manual was supported by a grant from the Office of Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development, U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare as part of the training center at the Institute for Youth Studies, Howard University. It is reproduced and distributed with the permission of the principal authors.

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PREFACE

This manual is designed to provide a picture of some of the problems and issues involved in developing and operating a New Careers program in human services. The material is drawn from experimental programs conducted at the Howard University Institute For Youth Studies (1964-67). During that time, the Institute, under grants from the United States Office of Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development; Department of Health, Education, and Welfare; Department of Labor; National Institute of Mental Health, and the Office of Economic Opportunity, focused its work on the development of the concept and program called New Careers. This concept is now a part of federal law (Title II, sec. 205 (e) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964) currently being administered by the Bureau of Work Training Programs, U.S. Department of Labor, under delegation from the Office of Economic Opportunity. It was sponsored by Rep. James H. Scheuer of New York.

Since this manual is intended for flexible use, it is organized by topics rather than by rigid schedules or a cookbook formula. The format of the manual is the result of the Institute's experiences in training a variety of groups of trainees for entry-level roles in health, education, mental health, recreation, child care, research, and community organization.

Major subjects covered in this manual of development and organization of New Careers programs are:

1) Conception of the program and its overall design;
2) Recruitment and selection of trainees;
3) Job development;
4) Training programs, techniques and curriculum, and
5) Training of the trainers and orientation of supervisors.

The flexibility of the format should permit its use both in different communities and agencies and in different fields of human service.

Communities and agencies are urged to consider and attempt to use an approach to training which includes presentation in a core group of the generic issues common to all human service work. This method of training is described in the manual, *New Careers: Generic Issues in the Human Services, a Sourcebook for Trainers*. It has the advantage of providing maximum economy, effectiveness, and standardization in initial training. When all trainees receive this base of common generic training, their opportunity for maximum lateral and vertical mobility in human service occupations will be increased. In addition, training agencies are urged to develop additional core curricula composed of generic, or basic, issues common to particular fields of human service, e.g., health, education or social service. Both types of generic training should be conducted concomitantly with specific skill training for jobs.

The Institute's use of core groups, as described in this manual, has been most successful for counseling, training and educational functions. Leaders of core groups can be readily trained from among existing staff. If the core-group model is not used in the manner suggested in this manual, we nonetheless urge that a gereric human service area be included through other techniques. We also recommend the use of some form of group counseling. Particular emphasis should be placed on problem solving within the context of job-oriented issues and realistic social tasks and problems confronting the individual trainees. Group counseling is much more effective for disadvantaged people than psychotherapy-like sessions or sensitivity training approaches. The concepts and methods of core groups and group counseling are mentioned in this manual, but are discussed at greater length in manuals for specific training areas, such as health and education.

The development of meaningful New Careers programs requires giving careful attention to the issues raised in this manual. Our experience has been that developing a New Careers program is not an easy task, involving as it does a new approach to job development, training, and career advancement. It requires far more attention and effort than traditional job training. But, as a result of the type of training described in the manual, the trainee, his trainers and employers are offered far more in terms of results.

J.R. Fishman, M.D.
April, 1968

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CHAPTER I

THE NONPROFESSIONAL WORKER IN HUMAN SERVICES

In American society today, almost every job requires some training or preparation. Many of the people most in need of jobs are those who have had the least preparation of any kind: school dropouts, the economically and culturally deprived, unwed mothers who have no one to support them or their children, and delinquents and former convicts who find job opportunities blocked by the joint obstacles of police records and lack of skills.

In recent years, deepening public awareness of the problems of these disadvantaged groups has led to the establishment of many creative programs designed to free them from the descending spiral of poverty and defeat that engulfs them. New insights into the motivations of human behavior have made it clear that the cycle will never be broken from the outside alone. If the poor are to move toward economic and personal freedom, they must be helped to help themselves.

This means, first of all, that they must have hope. They must have reason to believe that life does not have to be a dead end or an endless struggle for survival in a hostile environment. It means they must have confidence in their own ability to bring about change in their lives. It means they must have the assurance of decent jobs; and this, in turn, means they must have some kind of training to equip them to hold their own in an increasingly competitive labor market. It means, finally, that they must learn to see their personal problems in relation to the larger perspectives of community and society, and to understand that the solution of their problems is intimately related to the solution of the problems of others.

These were the concepts that led the Howard University Institute for Youth Studies (formerly, the Center for Youth and Community Studies) to develop its program to train workers for nonprofessional duties in the human services. Human services are public or voluntary programs in which services are provided on a person-to-person basis in such fields as health, recreation, welfare, education, corrections, and child care. At the same time that automation, urbanization, the population explosion, and other profound influences have intensified the problems of society, the goals and life standards of society have risen. As a result, programs of human services have proliferated rapidly and have faced growing personnel shortages. With the increasing size and administrative complexity of these programs, hard-pressed professional staffs have had to split themselves too many ways and spend too great a proportion of their time in duties that could be performed by staff with special skills and abilities but less training. However, no pool of this intermediate, "nonprofessional" kind of worker existed.

The Institute for Youth Studies (IYS) set about to test whether an effective program could be developed to train members of the disadvantaged population to meet this acute need for personnel and, at the same time, open up permanent challenging career opportunities. We saw as one of the strengths of this concept a unique quality that persons from backgrounds of poverty could bring to human service programs: their firsthand knowledge of the problems and the way of life of the poor.

The potential success of such a program, IYS recognized, depended on several factors:
nized, depended on several factors:

- The willingness of the community and its social institutions to accept and make use of such workers.
- The willingness of community agencies to provide actual job opportunities ranging from on-the-job training through permanent career status.
- The ability of the program to select trainees who would have the necessary persistence and drive to complete their training and become effective workers in permanent jobs.
- The development of special training techniques that could reach and hold trainees who did not respond to standard academic techniques of education.
- The ability of the agencies and the training program to define the jobs to be done and the kinds of training needed.
- The development of curriculum content that would provide the basic knowledge needed in all human services and the special skills needed for particular duties.
- The development of training sufficiently flexible to enable workers to move easily from one job to another as new needs and opportunities arose.
- The ability of professional workers to readjust their thinking to permit comfortable working relationships with these new nonprofessional colleagues.
- The constant feedback into the program of what was learned from each new step and technique, so that the quality of training could be constantly improved.
- The outflow of this experience to other communities and other programs facing similar challenges.

Since the IYS training programs were inaugurated, workers of several different kinds have been trained, including mental health aides, day-care workers, social research aides, and indigenous neighborhood workers whose responsibilities include both serving as a liaison between community residents and the services they need and organizing the residents for social action on their own behalf. Recreation workers have also been given special training for community organization functions. The training programs have been organized in three different ways:

> *Model A* was a research demonstration which focused principally on the experimental training process itself. IYS took major responsibility for developing curricula and training methods that would be effective with trainees from de-

prived areas. Because the effectiveness of training can only be tested in relation to actual jobs, IYS initiated cooperative relationships with community agencies to provide on-the-job training opportunities and placements following training.

Model B reversed this emphasis: it was developed as a response to agency needs for workers trained in certain specific skills, rather than centering on training methods. All of the training was related as closely as possible to preparing nonprofessional workers to function efficiently in specified roles as members of agency staffs.

Model C focused more on the individual trainee. Training and employment were offered in a single carefully controlled setting, with the principal purpose of the project being to study the effect this training and employment had on the trainee's attitudes, job performance, and general ability to cope with various problems.

Certain common denominators in all of the models proved to be particularly important. It is these we present in the following chapters.

CHAPTER II
JOB DEVELOPMENT

Job development is the foundation of any program to train nonprofessional workers. If the program is to have lasting value, the trainees must have the assurance from the beginning that their training is directly related to concrete and permanent job opportunities. The deprived groups from whom the candidates are drawn have had too much disappointment and failure in their lives and have come up against too many closed doors to be able to accept false hopes or nebulous goals.

Furthermore, it is pointless to "train" people unless you train them *for* something specific. The nature and content of training provided must be directly related to job requirements. For people whose educational and job histories have been markedly unsuccessful, general training in basic job skills will not solve any problems. They still will not be able to compete successfully in the open labor market.

In our experiences with developing job placements for nonprofessional workers, we encountered responses from community agencies ranging from hostility, opposition, resistance, and indifference to curiosity, cooperation, and support. We became aware of some of the obstacles that training programs are apt to encounter; some of the strategies that can be used to overcome obstacles, gain acceptance for new concepts, and open doors of opportunity for the trainees; and the sequence or "timetable" most apt to bring successful results. The guidelines set forth here, which can be adapted to specific objectives and circumstances of other training projects, have grown out of our experiences.

The goals of the training programs of the Institute for Youth Studies have been two-fold:

- To create permanent positions for nonprofessionals in community agencies—positions that also hold potential for mobility and advancement, and
- To prepare candidates to take advantage of these long-range opportunities through skillful training and placement.

The guidelines we present here are not designed merely to keep a given program in operation. Rather, they should be seen as strategies or alternatives leading toward achievement of the goals just outlined. They take on both their individual and their collective significance only in this light.

Guidelines

I. Give job development top priority in planning the training program.

If a program has no real jobs for trainees, the training will become only a frustrating ritual for them and the staff. The first step, therefore, must be an analysis of community-agency structures and manpower needs, the climate of acceptance or resistance to innovative approaches, and the possible ways that the training program can help fill some of the gaps in human services in the community.

There are two stages in this aspect of job development:

- Establishing the concept of creating permanent nonprofessional staff positions as the policy of appropriate community agencies, and
- Defining what these jobs will be and what kinds of training they will require.

In the Washington, D.C. programs we assigned a job development specialist (who knew community conditions and key people in the community) to assess the job potentials, make appropriate contacts and agreements, and then work with the senior trainer to develop a training curriculum directly keyed to community needs and opportunities.

II. Allow adequate lead time in planning.

This first step, we found, takes a great deal of time. Consequently, months should be allotted for job development before candidates are selected and training is begun. If the use of nonprofessional workers is to be more than a gesture, major structural reorganizations and

redistributions of job functions in the agencies may be required. The number of meetings, the complexity of contract and other legal arrangements, and the degree of persuasion necessary all influence the amount of time required for job development. Even if there is no resistance to be overcome, administrative wheels often move slowly. Approval of the governing board may have to be obtained—at a meeting scheduled many months hence. Funds may be unavailable until the next budget has been approved. Changing job classifications and developing procedures and regulations take time. And developing jobs in public agencies often involves complex negotiations with civil service commissions.

Beginning the actual training program prematurely, before administrative adjustments are made, can be disastrous because the program may have to mark time until agency positions become available. This can result not only in loss of trainee interest but in exhaustion of training program funds before the real training goals can be approached.

Several unanticipated delays were encountered after training had started. Some agencies reneged on what had been assumed to be firm job agreements; others failed to provide demonstration funds for absorbing trainees immediately into their programs while permanent support was being negotiated. In order to avoid having to disband trainee groups or train them for nonexistent jobs, we had to locate alternative jobs and sources of funds on an emergency basis.

III. Choose your participating institutional systems and agencies carefully.

The top level of institutional policy makers and agency administrators are those with the power to create jobs, reapportion budgets, sign formal agreements, and encourage their staffs to cooperate in new ventures. It usually saves time, confusion, and effort to negotiate directly with these key people. However, it is also important to find out which other staff or board members may have informal powers either to help implement a program or to obstruct it.

IV. Draw the operational heads of specific agency programs into the planning as soon as administrative agreements have been completed.

Maximum support and cooperation is most apt to be obtained from agency staff members who feel they have a real stake in the program. Therefore, efforts should be made to seek their ideas and to keep them fully informed at each step of the negotiations. This also provides an opportunity to help the staff become familiar in advance with some of the problems of employing disadvantaged people. They need to recognize, for example, how new and frightening it may be to the trainees to try to function within the unfamiliar, sophisticated agency structure and to understand that the workers may sometimes act out their insecurities in unsuitable ways instead of seeking help constructively. If not prepared for this, staff members may panic also and create crisis situations that endanger the success of the program.

V. Tailor your "sales strategy" to the agency with which you are dealing.

What approach will be most apt to win the support of each agency depends on the agency's ideological and program goals as well as its organizational structure, its manpower needs, and other factors. IYS used two main strategies to deal with two different types of agencies. With a community-action type of agency supported by public and private funds to prevent juvenile delinquency and reduce poverty in Washington, the IYS staff capitalized on the agency's commitment to provide jobs for the poor and its goal of stimulating social change. We stressed the innovative, experimental aspects of training for indigenous workers—the potential of such training for reducing poverty and delinquency by giving disadvantaged people an opportunity to contribute positively to society; the opportunity the training would provide to help the agency fulfill its commitment to "maximum feasible involvement of the poor" in its programs; its visibility to the public; and its usefulness in supplying much-needed manpower to staff antipoverty programs.

With the older, established agencies and institutions, our approach was quite different: We appealed mainly to the survival and maintenance needs of the agency. We stressed the increased *quantity* of service that agencies could offer as they took on trained nonprofessionals and freed professionals for increased technical and supervisory responsibilities and the improved *quality* of service that would result from the nonprofessional's ability to reach out into the community to meet the specific needs of the residents.

VI. Be patient about delays and setbacks in getting started.

Every established agency has its own systems, its own administrative structures, its entrenched ideas and attitudes; acceptance of new ideas and methods never comes quickly or easily. In addition, these agencies are often short of funds for hiring additional personnel. The training program should provide consultation on how to obtain demonstration project funds from various sources to support the hiring of nonprofessionals.

New agencies, such as community-action programs set up as demonstration projects, often encounter delays in funding, high staff turnover, and difficulties in establishing smoothly functioning administrative machinery. This makes it hard for them to absorb additional innovative efforts into their programs. The training program needs to anticipate such problems and allow agencies adequate time for the necessary adjustments. It is also wise to backstop each agreement with alternative arrangements with other community agencies.

VII. Be prepared to answer questions from agencies.

IYS found that both the new and the traditional agen-

cies tend to ask the following questions about the use of nonprofessionals:

- Can these aides enhance our program?
- Will using them undercut our long, hard-won efforts to develop high standards of service?
- Can nonprofessionals effectively and adequately perform duties that have customarily been in the province of the professional?
- Will professionals resent having their duties intruded on and their professional standing watered down?
- How do we square with the labor unions on the question of wages for nonprofessionals?
- Are these youths really reliable and "harmless," in the light of their extremely deprived and sometimes delinquent backgrounds?

These questions are, of course, not simple to answer. This is still a new and experimental effort. Furthermore, success using nonprofessional workers depends on many human and institutional variables. We found that our best means of reassuring agencies was to cite the results of other programs and studies. We also invited agencies to test the idea for themselves by hiring a few aides on a trial basis. This brings us to the next point.

VIII. Gain short-term acceptance while working toward long-term goals.

There is an old saying that the first step is the hardest. It is unrealistic to expect an agency to be willing or able to restructure its entire organization and redistribute job functions among professionals and nonprofessionals in one fell swoop. The training program must be flexible enough to move with the agency one step at a time without compromising its ultimate aims. Here, again, helping agencies to obtain demonstration grant funds to pay nonprofessional personnel may encourage initial experimentation and convince an agency subsequently to include funds for permanent positions in its budget.

IYS found that if agencies could be persuaded to employ a few nonprofessional trainees for a short period of time, genuine acceptance by the agency usually followed. The agencies were pleasantly surprised by the aides' job performance and became agreeable to expanding their use of such workers and providing opportunities for mobility and advancement for those already employed.

IX. Be sure you have firm agreements.

After an agency has expressed an interest in hiring nonprofessionals on a short-term basis, the commitment should be pinned down through additional discussion and a written agreement. The latter should include such details as the number of aides the agency will hire, when and for how long they will be employed, the source and the training program are to be. Such clarification tion of job duties and supervisory arrangements, and what the on-the-job training responsibilities of the agency and the training programs are to be. Such clarification is valuable to both organizations. It makes for more efficient operation of the program and serves as a protection for all concerned. Although not legally binding, such agreements represent a moral commitment by both parties that carries considerable weight.

X. Remember that job development needs continual refinement.

As the program gets under way, experience will often show the need for changes in approach. Exact skills and functions will have to be defined as concretely as possible for each job. This provides a basis for effective curriculum development, redefinition of professional staff responsibilities, and maximum effective use of both professionals and nonprofessionals. The conditions of employment and divisions of responsibility outlined in the initial agreement may need to be rewritten or clarified in greater detail. This is a normal part of the experimental process; if all the answers were known, there would be no need for demonstrations.

Additional details will have to be worked out, such as the forms, reports, and evaluative mechanisms needed; what orientation and training should be provided to prepare professionals to work with and supervise indigenous workers; and how the working relationships and individual and mutual responsibilities of the two agencies are to be implemented. Administrative and professional personnel of both agencies should meet regularly. Agency professionals who work daily with the aides have important perspectives to offer. Their close cooperation and genuine involvement in planning and program development are vital to their acceptance of the nonprofessional workers and the success of the entire program.

XI. Allow a large expenditure of time and energy to establish the use of nonprofessional workers as a permanent part of community agency systems.

The permanent incorporation of nonprofessional personnel into agency staffs requires not only the creation of new jobs but changes in the job of every other staff member. Job content, participation in decision and policy making, supervisory responsibilities, and so on, will have to be reorganized. In addition, new sources of funds, personnel, and power will have to be explored. The cooperation of citizens' groups, civil rights organizations, political leaders, members of the press, and other community-service agencies will have to be enlisted.

In Washington, for example, IYS staff members worked over many months to bring about regular employment of nonprofessional workers in two major institutional systems of the community—education and welfare. According to a recent agreement, nonprofessionals will be employed as teacher aides in the public schools and as counseling aides in welfare institutions.

Several factors contributed to our ultimate success in getting this concept accepted on a permanent basis:

- The success of IYS and other experimental programs in training and using nonprofessional workers;
- The resultant favorable publicity;
- The increasingly favorable climate in the community for organizational change and involvement of the poor, and

- The availability of additional funds as a result of new legislation for expanded or new innovative programs.

None of these factors would have brought the desired results, however, without a great deal of earnest and time-consuming effort to "sell" the program through such means as individual and group discussions with agency heads that focused on common community problems and possible solutions.

XII. Be as informal as possible about funding sources for the training program and administrative costs.

Our experience with one key element of administrative structure provided guidelines that may be particularly valuable to other programs. This is the important question of how such programs are funded and maintained, which can have a major effect on the willingness and ability of agencies to create nonprofessional positions. Part of setting up the program includes helping the agency become aware of funding sources and how they can best be used.

To develop a stable program free of constant financial crises, several steps should be taken:

- Consider all possible sources of funds and select the single source or combination of sources that will best enable the program to pursue its particular goals.

  Useful compilations of information about fund sources include the Office of Economic Opportunity manual, *Catalog of Federal Programs for Individual and Community Improvements*; the *Catalog of Federal Aid to State and Local Governments*, published in 1964 by the U.S. Senate Committee on Government Operations; and the *Foundation Directory*. Special reports and studies often mention state and local fund sources.

- Have alternative financial arrangements in mind to prevent a breakdown in program operation.

  These could be used in the event of crises that can arise, such as fund delays, time gaps between grants, or insufficient coverage for certain types of costs. Some possible solutions include having the parent institution as an ongoing source for overhead and special expenses and the private foundation as an emergency resource.

- Apply for advance capital to get the program started.

  Many federal and private fund sources now provide special grants for planning new programs in the human services field, as indicated in the catalogs listed above. This is a vast improvement over previous arrangements that required the agency to submit quarterly financial statements before any payment could be received. Since it often took as much as 60 days to process these statements, it was sometimes necessary for a program to wait as long as five months before it could obtain any operating funds to pay salaries and rent or purchase equipment.

- Keep budget categories broad and grant or contract arrangements flexible.

  In a new program, many unexpected costs arise. In addition, an innovative program needs to be free to change direction, add new elements, and test new approaches. Although the program must, of course, remain accountable to the granting agency, contract arrangements should be flexible *enough to permit dynamic, responsive* operation. In the budgets of many grants, a 10-percent cost adjustment is allowed in either direction for each item.

In estimating costs for budget preparation, differences in administrative structures, type of financing, and program emphasis are key factors. Programs involving complex relationships between two agencies require a heavy investment of staff time in liaison between the agencies, not only in formal meetings and reports but in day-to-day contacts. Multiple funding increases administrative costs; conversely, programs in which training and employment are handled by the same agency and programs with single-source financing have lower administrative costs. When program emphasis centers on research, the costs of special staff, facilities, and evaluative mechanisms will be major budget items.

CHAPTER III

QUALIFICATIONS, RECRUITMENT, AND SELECTION

The programs of the Institute for Youth Studies centered on relieving conditions of poverty by preparing members of the most disadvantaged level of the population for useful, permanent jobs. Thus, a basic premise of recruitment and selection of trainees had to be *screening in* rather than *screening out*.

A major interpretative effort may be required to convince agencies of the validity of the concept of "screening in" applicants who have limitations that would ordinarily be considered handicaps or barriers to employment. Poverty is often coupled in the minds of professionals and administrators with inadequacy, unreliability, and delinquent or criminal tendencies. Agencies may be afraid to risk employing trainees of "questionable" backgrounds. As we pointed out in our discussion of job development, the best way to gain acceptance of the idea is to cite the results of previous experimental programs and to encourage agencies to

accept a few trainees on a short-term basis.

The agencies should also be encouraged to consider the unique assets that indigenous workers can bring to their programs: their firsthand knowledge of poverty and its effects, which may help them perceive possible solutions; their familiarity with the social and power structures of their neighborhoods; their ability to talk the same language as the clients the agencies seek to serve; their potential for becoming role models to stimulate other residents of the poverty areas to involve themselves with community and personal problems in more constructive ways.

Trainee Qualifications

In keeping with its experimental program goals, the IYS training program set much more liberal standards of eligibility than those usually faced by applicants for employment. For example:

- *Educational level.* Most jobs in the human services field require at least a high school education. IYS programs are specifically directed toward preparing school dropouts for rewarding jobs. We therefore required only a fifth grade reading level, except in one instance where the policy of the community agency required that only high school graduates be employed.
- *Work experience.* Most jobs emphasize previous work experience. IYS did not require any previous experience.
- *Police record.* Most jobs require a clean police record. IYS did not screen out applicants with records of delinquency or other involvement with the law. The program did require that no court action be pending against applicants, since such action might have created disruptive interruptions in training.
- *Personal characteristics and health.* Many selection processes stress neatness, poise, and other socially favorable characteristics. Again, because of its emphasis on reaching disadvantaged applicants, IYS required only that they be free of serious physical or mental problems and communicable diseases.
- *Psychological rating.* Applicants for many types of jobs are now asked to take certain psychological tests. IYS sometimes used such tests as a research device. It did not, however, screen out applicants on the basis of the findings, for several reasons: First, we lack evidence that psychological testing actually provides a valid basis for selecting "good" applicants. Second, psychological testing tends to reflect personal attitudes rather than behavior potential, and one emphasis of IYS programs is to discover how well job training can overcome serious limitations and stimulate applicants to better use their own potentials.

  Applicants for training as mental health aides were examined by a team of psychiatrists since we felt (1) that psychological evaluation would have predictive value for performance in this particular type of job and (2) that initial testing would be a valuable part of evaluation of the program's concept of using nonprofessional workers to deal with the mental health problems of residents of impoverished neighborhoods.
- *Aptitude.* Many selection processes use aptitude tests. Such tests have been found to be unreliable as indices of the aptitudes of severely disadvantaged people, since they are based on middle-class concepts and experience. IYS therefore made little use of them.
- *Age.* Many jobs have restrictive age requirements that discriminate against young people and those past middle age. IYS trainees in various programs ranged in age from 16 to 65. Some of the programs were specifically oriented toward out-of-school, out-of-work youth, and in these only applicants between the ages of 16 and 21 were accepted. Others, like the project to train indigenous neighborhood workers, spanned the entire age scale, since program focus was on helping the poor of all ages find solutions to their employment problems.
- *Sex.* Many jobs are open only to members of one sex. Both male and female applicants were accepted in all IYS training programs, since one important aspect of the research was to break down traditional limiting barriers and test the use of trainees in new roles. For example, young men between the ages of 16 and 21 were trained as day-care aides. We found that they not only performed well in this capacity but that there appeared to be positive benefits both for the children, many of whom lacked father figures with whom to identify, and to the trainees, who gained new masculine stature in their own eyes because of the tendency of the children to assign to them the "father" role model.
- *Socioeconomic level.* In the human services field, job applicants from low socioeconomic levels are often automatically screened out because of educational and other shortcomings. IYS programs were directed toward the people most in need of jobs—those unemployed, receiving public assistance, or employed at an income below $4000 (with some prorating based on the number of dependents in the family).
- *Residence.* In the competitive labor market, place of residence may or may not be a factor. IYS programs were directed toward improving employment opportunities in specific target areas through training and using workers indigenous to the neighborhoods.

The recruitment process

Just as it is necessary to sell potential employers on the idea of using nonprofessional workers, it is also necessary to sell prospective recruits on the idea that they may qualify. Many residents of poverty areas are so accustomed to rejection, failure, and defeat that they are apathetic or suspicious about new opportunities. For example, young people with records of delinquency found it hard to believe that they were not barred from the training programs and suspected that "there must be a catch to it somewhere."

Recruitment is a time-consuming process. We found it advisable to allow about a month for recruiting before the trainees were selected, but the amount of time involved will vary with the goals of the program, the types of applicants being sought, and the specific jobs for which they are being recruited. The time required for recruiting diminishes as the training program becomes known to community agencies and the population of the target area. In addition, a reservoir of potential trainees culled from earlier applications gradually builds up.

IYS usually found it had more than enough recruits for each training project, since the recruits' need for employment was so great and the eligibility requirements were so liberal. In general, we found it advisable to recruit about three times as many applicants as each small training project could accept, since a high percentage of recruits dropped out or were disqualified in the selection process, which was designed, among other things, to test the interest, persistence, and motivation of the applicants. A pool of alternates should be maintained in each project to fill gaps created when trainees drop out, as some inevitably will do for one reason or another. We found the rate of completion of training surprisingly high, however. In some of the projects, special efforts were required to recruit the proportion of male trainees the programs needed.

Recruiting may be conducted by the training agency, the employing agency, or a combination of both. Recruitment for programs centering on research would normally be handled by the training agency. Recruitment for programs designed to fill specific agency personnel gaps can most logically be undertaken by the employing agency.

In one IYS project, an indigenous, nonprofessional citizens' advisory committee cooperated with agency and training staff in recruiting and selecting trainees. Members of this committee also helped the recruits understand and carry through on application procedures. Somewhat to our surprise, we found the members of this indigenous committee more conservative and more influenced by middle-class stereotypes and biases about the suitability of applicants than professional members of the recruiting team. Less imbued with the experimental concepts of the project than the training and agency staff, and mirroring their own lack of personal confidence, the committee members tended to be dubious about the advisability of "trusting these people" with social welfare tasks.

Three main methods of recruiting were used in IYS programs:

- *Referral from other agencies.* IYS explained its goals and the kinds of applicants it was seeking to employment agencies, the community-action agency, neighborhood centers, settlement houses, the Urban League and similar organizations, recreation centers, schools, welfare agencies, police and correctional agencies, and others.
- *Dissemination of public information.* Public service announcements on radio and television were used to some extent, and local newspapers carried human interest features and news stories. Posters and flyers were distributed in informal neighborhood gathering places like bars and laundromats as well as in more formal settings like churches and community centers. In one program we contacted school dropouts directly by letter or telephone.
- *Word-of-mouth contact.* IYS staff, community organizers of block clubs, aides already employed as a result of training programs, and their families all spread the word about the training projects and the opportunities they offered.

Of these three methods, we found the first—referral from other agencies—the most effective. The majority of our recruits were obtained through these contacts.

The selection process

Like recruitment, selection was sometimes an individual responsibility of the training or the employing agency and sometimes a joint responsibility. IYS found the latter arrangement brought better results in later understanding and cooperation in the program. The nonprofessional advisory boards participated in selection in some of the programs. The nature of the project sometimes dictated which members of the training staff participated in the selection of candidates. In order to avoid clouding the research focus of the mental health aide project, for example, the staff member who was to serve as group leader did not participate in selection.

Applicants for IYS training projects were first asked to fill out a simple questionnaire asking address, family names and occupations, marital and parental status, school and work experience, special skills, military record, and police record (with a notation that an arrest record would not necessarily affect one's chances for acceptance). The questionnaire had three aims: to provide basic socioeconomic data about the applicant; to measure his ability to read, write, and follow directions; and to be a preliminary device for screening out those who were clearly ineligible because of the particular requirements of the program or other factors.

When the recruitment period ended, applicants were sometimes asked to meet as a group to learn about the aims of the program, the nature of the employment opportunities, and what the individual interviewing process would be. Individual interviews were scheduled on a first-come, first-served basis. They ranged in length from three-quarters of an hour to two hours in order to allow time for exploration of the applicant's opinions, life style, sense of values, personal relationships, and his attitudes toward himself and toward work and authority. Additional small-group interviews proved useful in further screening in some of the programs. Some candidates were able to express themselves more freely in a group; others showed antipathies and tensions that raised questions about their ability to work with groups. Interviews were tape recorded as a basis for later program evaluation.

After the interviews were completed, the candidates were given thorough physical examinations at a local hospital in order to detect major physical problems or communicable diseases. In addition to those who did not meet the physical requirements, candidates who failed to appear for their appointments were disqualified.

If the candidates progressed this far, we sometimes sought additional information about school records and work histories. This information was not used as a basis for qualification or disqualification but to clarify the strengths and limitations of the candidates and help the trainers make the most suitable placements. In some programs we tried to include persons of varied personalities and behavior patterns in order to involve a broader cross-section of the disadvantaged population in a structured, experimental training program. For research purposes, candidates were divided into "high risk" and "low risk" categories on the basis of such factors as socioeconomic background, psychological ratings, school success or failure, stable or unstable work histories, and presence or absence of police records. An equal number from the high risk and low risk categories was selected for training. Experience thus far shows very little difference in job performance between the two groups.

When the selection process was completed, rejectees were notified as promptly as possible. All candidates accepted for training in a particular program were notified at the same time, as were alternates. The candidates were then ready to begin training.

CHAPTER IV
TRAINING

The goals of the training programs of the Institute for Youth Studies required that training extend beyond the effort to teach specific skills, reaching into the underlying areas of human relationships that are equally crucial to job success. Training therefore encompassed the following elements:

- Teaching trainees to understand the nature and meaning of various types of behavior in different situations.
- Providing an understanding of the complexities of interpersonal, group, and community relationships.
- Helping trainees develop a sense of personal and occupational identity.
- Helping trainees develop goals, values, and attitudes that will enable them to function effectively in society.
- Teaching the basic general skills and viewpoints needed for all nonprofessional jobs in human services.
- Teaching the specialized skills essential to at least one kind of human service.
- Developing personal and social coping skills, such as reading and writing, needed for successful job performance.
- Helping trainees develop sufficient knowledge and flexibility so that they will not be confined to one job, but can transfer from one to another as opportunities for advancement arise.
- Helping trainees learn to accept and use supervision, and training professionals to supervise and work effectively with nonprofessionals.

Training Methods

For several reasons, these training goals could not be achieved through a traditional academic approach. First, many of the trainees had been unhappy and unsuccessful in school and would not have been able to respond to training that seemed to them to be only "more of the same old thing." Second, our hypothesis of the need for positive interpersonal relationships as an element of job success called for training situations in which various types of personal and social relationships could be acted out and experienced rather than "taught." Third, the trainees, many of whom felt isolated from society in general, could gain a sense of identity and support and learn more easily as members of small, informal groups of their peers. Fourth, if the trainees were to retain their interest, they needed to experience some immediate rewards for their efforts.

The training methods IYS employed were tailored to the special needs of the trainees in two principal but integrated settings, the "core group" and on-the-job training. We emphasized flexible programming that could follow the interests of the trainees. This not only permitted inclusion of special trips, meetings, speakers, and so on, but also enabled the trainees to get the direct help they needed as new problems arose in their field assignments.

Time allotments for each portion of training varied because of this flexible structure. Usually each group spent one to five days in orientation before moving into the other aspects of training. The core group met from three hours a day to one hour twice a week, the variation depending on the amount of time devoted to specialty workshops (one to two hours a day), special meetings and events, other curriculum assignments like remedial education (three to six hours per week), and on-the-job training. The amount of time spent in the core group diminished as the trainees' on-the-job responsibilities increased during the latter weeks of the training period. Trainees' conferences with on-the-job supervisors of the employing agencies took approximately three to six hours a week, and time spent on field assignments ranged from two afternoons a week after the first week or two of training to four hours a day during the latter weeks.

The Core Group

The heart of the training method was the core group. Trainees were divided into small groups of six to

ten people who met informally with their trainer for lectures, discussion, and task-oriented counseling. The groups met daily, several times a week. We exposed the trainees to the general body of factual information they needed and discussed the mechanics of program operation. We studied principles of professional practice and their adaptation to use by nonprofessionals. This discussion lent immediacy and relevance to abstract concepts like identity, leadership, decision-making capability, and relationships with supervisors. The trainees were encouraged to analyze personal, community, and social problems and to take up the kinds of problems and relationships they would encounter in their jobs.

Initially, some trainees were ill at ease in the relatively unstructured core-group setting. They did not understand how to respond in a situation where the leader placed major responsibility for participation on them, and they became bored when discussions bogged down. Gradually, however, they opened up and learned to value the opportunity to bring their struggles and mistakes to the group for discussion. Although they were sometimes harshly critical of each other, the leader's support and his willingness to be part of this process helped them develop the self-confidence they needed to hold their own and work through some attitudes that would otherwise handicap them in their jobs. They became more tolerant of their own and others' mistakes and were more willing to help each other work out problems. While the leader set certain standards for the core-group and job performance of the trainees, he encouraged them to make their own decisions whenever possible. Indeed this opportunity of learning and trying out new ways of interacting and dealing with others around issues of concern to all is one of the most important elements of this approach.

In addition to leading the trainees toward greater personal maturity and security, the core group serves several additional purposes. It provides a reference group with which the trainee can identify in relation to his occupational role. Indigenous workers often become confused about their own identity, especially at the beginning of training when their insecurity is the greatest. They try to mold themselves in their image of their supervisors, trainers, and professional colleagues. They reject their culture, their former associates, and sometimes even their families. They no longer fit into the old street-corner society, and they need new social supports to replace it.

In the core group they develop a new image of themselves and their nonprofessional peers. They develop a sense of group responsibility. For example, when one trainee became angry and disappeared from her core group for several days, taking an IYS tape recorder with her, other members of the group formed a committee to call on her and persuade her to return the recorder and resume her training.

On-the-Job Training

The other principle arm of the program was on-the-job training, begun immediately and integrated with the core-group training. This arrangement provided each trainee with an immediate steady income (usually a training stipend), practical opportunities to test out what he was learning, and the chance to experience a growing sense of personal competence and usefulness as he fulfilled actual job responsibilities.

We found that the effectiveness of on-the-job training was far greater in projects that had adequate planning time than in those forced to swing directly into program operation. In the latter, some of the field assignments seemed confusing and meaningless to trainees who had had no preparation and, along with the professionals, did not understand what they were to do. Where planning time was adequate, it was easier to relate the content of the core-group sessions specifically to assignments and problems the trainees encountered in their on-the-job training, thus enhancing the value of both. The amount of time the trainees spent in field assignments each week varied in the different projects, and the assignments began earlier in some than in others. Usually trainees began working on field assignments two afternoons a week, with the time devoted to this activity increasing as training progressed.

The staffs of the agencies to which the trainees were assigned provided supervision. Trainees worked in teams, both to enable them to provide moral support to each other in the unfamiliar situation and because the similarity of their assignments and experiences provided a more useful basis for group discussion and evaluation. In addition, the employing agency had a better chance to evaluate the assets and problems in the use of nonprofessional workers when more than one trainee was assigned to its staff.

Content of Training

Because the emphasis in IYS training programs was on flexible adaptation to the needs, problems, challenges, and goals of each group, the curriculum itself was dynamic: it grew and changed and took shape as training progressed, and it was not the same for any two groups of trainees.

This does not mean, however, that it was unplanned. Certain basic topics that pertain to all segments of human services were foundation and framework in each project. These topics were presented by specialists in each field, and this information was then drawn upon and integrated with the day-to-day work and learning experiences of the trainees, especially in core-group discussions. The basic topics included in all the training programs were:

- *Orientation.* In the first sessions, trainees were given the clearest possible explanation of the program: its goals and its mode of operation; who the staff members were and what the role and responsibilities of each were; administrative matters like the dates of the training program, hours of work, when and how stipends would be paid, what the leave provisions, holiday schedules, and such would be; what penalities would be incurred for infringement of regulations; what commitments the training program made to provide recruits with jobs after training was completed. Since each group was to make certain de-

cisions for itself about its modus operandi, the factors remaining undecided were also identified. Usually the entire trainee group met together for orientation.

- *Human growth and development.* The basic aspects of normal growth, physical health, psychological development, patterns of childhood and adolescent development, problems of family life, deviance and abnormality were described. We emphasized the effects of a dynamic environment on the individual, the stresses he encounters, and the ways he can learn to make alternative choices and cope with life's problems.
- *The community.* This topic was introduced as concretely as possible by relating concepts of community structure to the political, social, and economic nature of the actual community in which the trainees lived. We described the programs and facilities of local agencies; the current employment situation in the area; the particular consumer hazards the poor encounter in their neighborhood groceries and "easy-credit" stores; legal problems and the services available for their solution; welfare law and its meaning for the residents of the area.
- *The culture of poverty.* The trainees themselves were products of poverty and were no strangers to slum housing, juvenile delinquency, racial discrimination, alcoholism, gambling, and a host of other problems of the poor. The object of this curriculum topic was to provide a broader perspective on the causes of poverty, the implications of high birth rates, the composition of the poor population, federal, state, and local programs to combat the problems of poverty and the role of the poor in these efforts.
- *Current events.* Again we emphasized relating what is going on in the world to the problems of the target area and the trainees' potential role. Trainees brought in and discussed newspaper clippings and magazine articles on health, welfare, educational, and political topics, analyzing them not only for content but as a means of learning about the power and mechanics of mass communication. Applying this knowledge in practical use, one group of trainees participated in a potentially newsworthy public meeting and conducted a news conference the next day to discuss the issues that had been raised.
- *Group management.* Group process was both unfamiliar and alien to most of the trainees, yet the jobs for which many of them were being prepared would require them not only to participate in groups but to organize groups and give continuing leadership. The core group itself was a demonstration of group dynamics and interaction, but the trainees also discussed specific types of interaction characteristics of various age levels and different kinds of groups, the nature of leadership, and so on. As their field work progressed, they discussed the group-management problems they were encountering and tested out with each other some of the techniques they might use in various situations.
- *Working techniques.* This portion of the curriculum centered on the specific skills the trainees would need in their various nonprofessional duties: making contacts with people in need of services, conducting interviews, making accurate and meaningful observations, writing clear, concise reports, keeping records, making referrals, and negotiating with powerful people in the community. Although many of these techniques are especially important for community organizers and neighborhood workers, they are needed in varying degrees in all the human services jobs for which the nonprofessionals were being trained.
- *Remedial skills.* The addition of remedial instruction to the curriculum was requested by the trainees themselves. Finding themselves overwhelmed and embarrassed by such duties as writing reports, some of the trainees requested help in learning to spell, to write grammatically correct sentences, to express themselves more clearly, and to understand the simple arithmetic necessary in their jobs. Although many had been resistent and unsuccessful in school, they applied themselves eagerly to this kind of learning when it related directly to their work. They took great pride in their growing skill in making out reports and research interview forms. As a result of this training, several trainees asked for and received additional help in preparing for high school equivalency, civil service, and other examinations which enabled them to move into better paying, more responsible jobs.

Relationships with the Employing Agencies

The close interrelationship of curriculum content and on-the-job training obviously requires that good liaison be maintained between the training and employing agencies. As we pointed out in the chapter on job development, this relationship must be firmly established long before the actual training starts. The administrative heads and other top personnel of the two agencies must work out in detail arrangements about the time schedule, location, and nature of the on-the-job training, the duties the nonprofessional will be expected to perform, what sort of supervision the agency will supply, what the training stipends will be and when and how they will be paid, and what responsibility the agency will take for helping the trainee make the transition from on-the-job training to full employment in the agency or elsewhere.

A parallel line of communication must be maintained between the training staffs and the on-the-job supervisors. Early clarification of the responsibilities and interrelationships of the trainers, supervisors, and trainees is important. Many problems can be disposed of in advance by the staffs of the two agencies. For example, staff members of the employing agency must understand clearly that the trainees are not to be assigned to menial chores like window washing, but are to perform specified duties for which they are trained. Any anxiety the professional staff members feel about possible competition from the nonprofessionals must be

brought out in the open and discussed realistically so that the true role of the nonprofessionals will be understood.

It is important that close cooperation between the agencies continue throughout the training program. This will enable the trainer to respond to specific instruction needs recognized by the supervisor; to become aware of the differences in viewpoint between the academician and the practitioner; to explain research aspects of the program that involve the employing agency, such as evaluation forms and questionnaires to be filled out by the supervisors; to keep informed about the trainee's job performance.

The question of how much information the employing agency should be given about the trainees by the training agency is not an easy one to answer. On the one hand, giving the employer background information on the trainee increases his understanding of the employee's behavior and helps him to be alert to potential trouble spots. On the other hand, such information may prejudice the employer, resulting in his being suspicious or tending to treat the aide like a client rather than an employee. Setting the trainee apart from the rest of the staff this way would mark him for defeat from the beginning.

The alternative approach is for the training agency to supply minimum data on the trainee and let the agency obtain any additional information it needs from the trainee himself. IYS leaned toward this approach, but this is a policy decision that may vary in different training programs and among employing agencies.

Duration and Completion of Training

The total training period was usually about 12 weeks. To mark the close of training and give it status in the community, IYS planned a "graduation" ceremony to which staffs of the training and employing agencies, prominent members of the community, the press, and friends and families of the trainees were invited. Since many of the trainees had not graduated from high school, the ceremony had great meaning for them and they made extensive preparations for it.

The subsequent three months of full-time employment served as a probationary period during which the trainees continued to be closely supervised. The probationary period is also useful for evaluating on the basis of the job performance of the trainees how effective the training has been. Additional training in specialized skills required for particular jobs may be offered during the probationary period or may be part of the agency's ongoing program for in-service training.

Some Guidelines in Training

What made these training methods work? What elements in IYS's experience can be applied in other programs to train nonprofessional workers? We have mentioned some of them already: reaching beyond skill-training into the area of human relationships and devising methods and settings in which learning can be intimately related to actual job performance. We found that motivation could be maintained when the trainers encouraged the trainees and responded to their desire to do a good job; when new challenges were offered; and when the curiosity of the trainees about themselves and other people was used as a springboard for discussion, interchange, and learning. The training, we found, had to stress action, flexibility, and variety. It had to encourage the trainees to take as much initiative as possible. At the same time, it had to provide them with leadership, support, and constructive supervision. Finally, it had to promote a sense of group identity from which the trainees could draw strength and security.

For the purposes of this manual, we have looked at each of these concepts individually in terms of IYS's experience with them.

Action—Teaching methods in which the trainees were the active participants—discussion, demonstrations, role playing, field trips—proved more effective than sessions in which they were passive listeners. Mental health aides visited mental hospitals, welfare institutions, prisons, and detention homes. Research trainees taped interviews with each other and learned to use computers in evaluating various elements of their own program. Recreation workers played the games they would later teach others.

Group-work principles were demonstrated in the operation of the core groups themselves, but other situations were also tested out. For example, a neighborhood worker might practice how to make contacts with block residents, while other members of the group portrayed residents, giving the different reactions he might encounter. A day-care aide would role-play a teacher disciplining a small child. Or the role playing might center on problems apt to arise in group situations, like how to deal with the "troublemaker," draw in the "outsider," or win the confidence of the "silent one." As each role was played out, the group discussed how well the trainee handled the situation and what underlying principles had been demonstrated. Thus, theory was related to practice in dramatic ways that helped fix the experiences in the minds of the trainees as no formal lecture alone could have done.

Flexibility—As we have already indicated, the schedule, content, and methods of training were kept flexible to enable the trainee to respond to specific training needs as they arose. Often the trainees themselves would relate some aspect of the curriculum to their own life experiences or the experiences of the group. For example, a mental health aide group was discussing a film about the hostility a child felt toward her step-father. One of the male aides related this to the hostility he felt emanating from a girl aide in the group toward him. The group picked up the topic and, under the skillful direction of the core leader, discussed causes and manifestations of hostility and methods of handling it.

Variety—If one technique of training continued too long or seemed pointless to the trainees, they became bored. For example, in one program the trainees became impatient when core-group discussions continued too long without being related to field assignments. Their interest quickly returned when the schedule was revised to provide greater variety of activity and hasten the beginning of on-the-job training assignments.

Films, books, charts, and pamphlets often proved to be of limited value because they did not pertain to life as the trainees had experienced it. Child development films, for example, were often out of date; but even more important, they were pitched to a middle-class, intellectually oriented audience with entirely different life styles from the trainees.

Most standard reading materials also proved unsuitable, although some special materials prepared by IYS staff were helpful. The daily newspaper was one useful "textbook." The trainees felt a sense of immediacy as they read news stories demonstrating principles or problems they had been discussing in the core groups. Their level of response tended to change as training progressed and the trainees became better able to grasp the relationships to their own job experiences. The trainer must recognize this trend and provide materials at a more advanced level as the group becomes ready for them.

Encouragement—The trainees tended to be easily discouraged by situations they did not understand or found too remote from their customary life styles. On the other hand, positive reinforcement by the trainers, supervisors and other members of the core group helped them raise their own standards of conduct, performance, and discipline. For example, one aide was physically threatened by a belligerent boy in his recreation group. His impulse was to retaliate in kind, but he remembered some of the things he had learned in the core group about human behavior. He realized that physical punishment would have no meaning to this boy, in whose experience aggression was the normal way of life. Instead, the aide made the independent decision to suspend the boy from the group for several days. He was supported and encouraged in this exercise of self-restraint and good judgment by the approval he received from the trainer and the core-group members.

Identity—Most human beings rely heavily on the strength and reassurance they gain from their "group," whether this is family, a peer group, fellow workers or professional colleagues, or a social unit. The trainees, finding themselves in new situations with new types of people, are often isolated at first from each other as well as from the professionals. As training progresses, an esprit de corps often develops in the core group that helps in maintaining discipline and sustaining the level of interest and effort. Sometimes this extends to the total trainee group. It appears to be useful for the different training groups to meet together periodically to exchange information and experiences and maintain a link between the employing and the training agencies even after the training period has been completed.

In some of the training programs trainees tried to foster this sense of group identity by forming an independent trainees' organization. Sometimes this was successful, sometimes not. A plan to set up a trainees' credit union failed because of confusion about how to operate such a plan, the unwillingness of the members to set aside a portion of their stipends for the necessary reserve fund, and their general distrust of other people in money matters. Even so simple a project as a party sometimes fell apart because of the group's inability to agree on what sort of occasion it should be or how it should be organized. In such cases, the failure itself was used by the leader as a learning experience. On the other hand, some social occasions were planned and carried through with great success and pride and added a new dimension to the relationships of the trainees during core-group work sessions.

Some Problems in Training

Any training program that requires basic changes in the attitudes and performance of the participants inevitably creates in them certain anxieties, tensions, and conflicts that erupt periodically. Anticipating such crises and being prepared to handle them can make them much less destructive to the training program. IYS found that longstanding personal problems of the trainees sometimes intensify under the strain of the new demands placed upon them. Most of the trainees can be helped to work their way through these crises and go on with their training, but a few cannot. One trainee, for example, became a disruptive influence because he could not control his drinking on the job. The trainer, with the group's approval, decided this trainee would have to be dismissed, with the hope that he might have another chance at training later if he could overcome his alcoholism.

During the various projects several trainees had brushes with the law, but these were not automatic grounds for dismissal. Whenever possible, the trainees were encouraged to examine how and why they had gotten into trouble, and what changes in attitudes and behavior they had to achieve to prevent further entanglements.

A host of little problems also arose—repeated tardiness, unexcused absences, breaches of rules of conduct. Insofar as possible, the incidents were brought before the group for discussion and used as part of the training process. One of the goals of training is to foster independent thinking and the capacity to make sound judgments. If the trainees are to become effective nonprofessional workers, they must learn to rely on themselves and avoid becoming overdependent on the trainer or the supervisory personnel of the employing agency. But the balance between support and manipulation of the trainee is not easy to achieve. It is sometimes difficult to judge what amount of leeway or of control is in the best interests of the trainee. It is even more difficult, at times, to choose between what may be best for the growth of the individual trainee and what must be done for the good of the training program as a whole.

In addition to personal crises, the training projects regularly encountered certain program-wide problems. After the first few weeks, in almost every project, morale fell, groups began to break down in boredom, hostility, or useless bickering, and individual competition and distrust increased. There may be a variety of causes for these developments—disappointment stemming from overexpectation; frustration when the job seems too complicated or less interesting than anticipated; confusion as to the trainee's background comes into conflict with the new identity he is attempting to assume; strains induced by the effort to change one's ways of thinking

and doing things; or simply the normal letdown that comes after any initial period of excitement. The effects of this turmoil can be minimized and the group started moving constructively again if the trainer and the trainees are aware that such ups and downs must be anticipated in programs of this kind and are only temporary. Eventually greater stability develops and the program enters a new phase of increased maturity and productivity. This is also an important opportunity for both the trainer and trainees to mutually examine what the program is for and where the responsibility for its momentum lies.

CHAPTER V

RESEARCH AND PROGRAM EVALUATION

In a new field like the training of nonprofessional workers, evaluative procedures must be built in from the very beginning of the program. Only through continuing objective self-analysis can the program determine whether its methods are effective and what directions its programs should take in the future.

At present, evaluation is handicapped in several ways:

- By the lack of clearly delineated training models;
- By the lack of clearly defined and tested role definitions for various types of nonprofessional jobs;
- By the lack of evaluation models and instruments;
- By the unwillingness of many funding agencies to allow adequate grants for evaluative research, and
- By the lack of trained research personnel.

Even under these handicaps, evaluative studies can contribute significantly not only to further development of a particular program but to the general body of knowledge about effecting training techniques.

The Purposes of Evaluation

The purposes and design of evaluative studies depend on the goals and form of the training program. One project, for example, was a research-centered project to develop and test job development, recruitment, selection, and training methods that might be broadly applicable in many training programs. Each aspect of the program was structured to permit as accurate as possible a measurement of its effectiveness. Another project was service-centered, and evaluation focused on feeding into the project information about the effectiveness of one particular aspect—how well the training had prepared the trainees to function in a specific job role. Tests covering areas of information to be presented during training were administered at the beginning of the training period. Identical tests were administered at the end of training, providing measures of the level of learning as a guide for changes and improvements in training methods.

The Nature of Evaluation

To provide accurate measures of effectiveness, evaluation should measure what actually happens during instruction and on-the-job training. It must take into account discrepancies between goals and achievements. A program may have clearly articulated training goals but the resources to implement only a portion of them. There may also be discrepancies between job descriptions and the tasks agencies assign to nonprofessional workers. Thus, the research questions must be explicit.

Exactly what information and experiences was the trainee given? In other words, what was the "input"? What use did the trainee make of this knowledge? What was his "output" in job performance? Was he able to apply specific techniques he had been taught? Did he draw on particular areas of knowledge discussed in the core groups? If not, was this because he had not understood the training or because his job assignment did not call these particular skills into play?

Some beginning approaches to measuring input have been devised. Curriculum materials can be analyzed and their application in the classroom or core group monitored. Some types of output can also be measured, such as the worker's proficiency in using a particular skill. He can be observed to be making correct use of group-management techniques. It is far more difficult, however, to measure the true effect of his work. For example, how can the leadership of a neighborhood worker be proven to be the decisive factor in bringing about attitudinal changes in the community? Perhaps the most comprehensive statement that can be made on the subject of evaluation is this: The training programs described in this manual represent innovation and experimentation along a number of lines at once. The real pay-off in these programs lies in making every effort to develop a body of carefully collected data on both inputs and outcomes.

As already mentioned, one of the selling points of the programs is being able to demonstrate concrete evidence of their success, both in involving a particular population and in providing a certain quality of service. This can be done by flowery and dramatic presentations of individual cases, although the glow rather quickly dims. The more pressing and continuing need is for careful specification of who and what the programs were for, what they intended to accomplish, how they did it (including the important task of ascertaining the process of training), and what were the results, both short and long run.

Second, the training program itself, as well as the nonprofessional roles it is designed to prepare, are only at their beginning stages of development. By their very nature, these programs represent an intervention into a

number of social, educational, and institutional processes in our society. For example, there are potential effects on the roles of professionals, on institutional structure and program organization, on peer-group affiliation and family involvement, and on the nature of the educational process for a delinquent and drop-out population. The kinds of changes and effects such an intervention can produce, as well as the opposition and countermoves it can stimulate, are critically important to specify if we are to learn how best to deal with them. Again, this specifying can come about only by carefully thinking through the elements of the program and its impact and testing out these notions as an integral part of the program design. Not all questions need to be or could be answered in a single program. Rather, progressively more complex issues can be considered in further replications of the program or in its follow-up phases. What must be kept in mind is that while these programs may represent "answers" to pressing social problems and needs, they can also be seen as "questions" to be asked about the potentials of people, the efficacy of certain techniques, and the response of those whom they most affect.

The Duration of Evaluative Studies

It is evident from this discussion that evaluative research can be either short term or long term, depending on its purposes and the availability of resources. It can consist of cross-sectional comparisons of similar situations in different groups, or longitudinal observations of the same group of trainees at several different points in time. These points of time may cover part or all of the training period, or may extend over an additional period of months or years to determine the long-range effects of training on the lives of the trainees.

The Research Staff

The evaluation of training programs need not require a large research staff, although it should be under the leadership of well-trained researchers. These researchers can be either members of the training program staff or consultants from independent research organizations. Staff researchers have the advantage of familiarity with the program and its goals and easy access to data.

In the interest of objectivity, it is valuable for the evaluative team to include some people not directly involved in the operation of the program. Both research and program staff members of the training programs should, however, be involved in the evaluative effort. From their intimate knowledge of program goals and operation, the program people can help to define the purposes of the research, which aspects of the program are to be evaluated, and so on. The way the program operates will affect the research design. Conversely, the requirements of meaningful research design may suggest certain elements of program operation, from recruitment and selection techniques to curriculum development and training methods. Developing the research design should therefore be a team effort from the beginning.

Research should not be allowed to disrupt program operation. A good deal of common courtesy and tact on the part of both training and research staff members is needed to enable the two aspects of the project to function smoothly. For example, it may be necessary for researchers to observe the trainees during core-group sessions or field-work assignments. Such observations should be scheduled at times mutually convenient to the researcher, the core-group leader or training supervisor, and the administrative heads of the two agencies.

Regularly scheduled joint meetings of research and program staffs are useful in maintaining good working relations. They are also of major importance in assuring the prompt feedback and use necessary to make research findings a vital force in improving the training program.

NOTE: More detailed ideas and suggestions for training program evaluation can be found in: Freeman, H.E., and Sherwood, C.C. "Research in Large-Scale Intervention Programs," *J. Soc. Issues* 21: 11-28, 1965; and Levine, M. *Research Strategies in Training Evaluation*. Washington: Institute for Youth Studies, Howard University, 1966, (monograph).

PERSPECTIVES

It is difficult to judge the lasting impact of any new program concept while it is still in its early stages. We already have, however, clear evidence that the use of indigenous nonprofessional workers in the human services has become an established trend in this country. Approximately 24,000 of them have been employed throughout the United States since the passage of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1965. How permanent and how successful the use of such workers will be depends, we believe, on the quality of training they receive, the adequacy with which professional personnel are prepared to welcome them as contributing members of agency staffs, and the possibility for upward mobility in the system.

Much more research and many additional innovative demonstrations are needed. We are, however, glad to be able to present what we feel to be significant preliminary guidelines for the development of other training programs. They reflect our conviction that the training process itself can be utilized as an important agent of social change.

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